197 the language of the Nandi in the Uganda protectorate. The language of the Nandi, of all the languages of East Africa, seems to resemble most closely the pure Hamitic language type since the Nandi probably are the remnants of a former Galla invasion. (A. W. Crabtree, "The Languages of the Uganda Protectorate," Journal of the African Society, January, 1914, pp. 158 ff.)

194 An exact study of the peculiar manner in which the Batussi speak the Bantu idiom, Kirundi, will also yield many intimations and indications in this respect, for it is obvious even to an observant layman that the Batussi differ from the Bahutu in speaking Kirundi. They have a different accent, pronounce certain sounds differently, and combine the syllables differently. In general, it seemed to me that in both Ruanda and in Urundi the Batussi speak Kirundi with a much softer intonation and also that they have a tendency to swallow the vowels of the final syllables. Instead of the 's' or 'ss' pronounced by the Bahutu, they use a very soft 'sch' or 'dsch': instead of Munjahasi they say Munjahasch'; instead of Lanongo, Lanong'; instead of Lubassa, lubasch'. It is also often difficult to say whether the final vowel pronounced is an 'a,' or 'e.' It is also difficult to hear the difference in the pronunciation of 'r,' 'l,' and 'd.'

●113 It would serve no purpose to list examples of modern Kirundi at this point since one may consult the comprehensive Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi by Father J. M. van der Burgt and the small Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi et Kirundi-Français by Father F. Ménard which is specifically intended for missionary use (No. 29). Van der Burgt reproduces a few examples of stories, fables, songs, and hymns with an interlinear translation in his Dictionnaire, pp. 96, 292-293, 332-334, 339-342; I myself cannot add anything to them. In conclusion, however, I should

539 like to add a few proverbs which are noteworthy for their sharpness of observation and brevity of expression (No. 19, p. 470).

[150] 1) Ivintu vy'ukwibwa viraguma.
Things of no interest (are) hard [to comprehend].

2 related

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

whenever goods are given to someone, a return is expected. This return is not the exact counterpart of what has been provided and is not due immediately or at a precisely determined time. By the granting of a favour, an almost permanent relationship is established between two persons, extending eventually to their immediate relatives. Undoubtedly some obligations are more formalized, such as those resulting from some kinds of exchange (*kuguza*), loan (*gutiza*), &c. But many relations which, in Western culture, would result in strictly defined obligations, do not have the same consequence in Ruanda. The man who receives a service or a gift is not expected to return its equivalent immediately. Such behaviour would even be frowned upon. He should wait till he is asked to return other services or goods. This is indeed the intention of the man who grants the favour: to put somebody under an undefined obligation.

There are several reasons for these relations of reciprocity. First, in an economy in which there is no standard value in relation to which everything may be assessed, it is not easy to determine a precise equivalent for goods. Second, where there is no standard medium of exchange, such as money, which can be accumulated without deteriorating, it is usually difficult to have the required equivalent to hand. Third, in a material culture in which the technological development does not allow of specialization, one has to rely on many people. It is thus very useful to have permanent debtors. Finally, and this is very important, the principle of reciprocity is much more consistent with other parts of the Ruanda culture than are alternative methods. In that culture people are not regarded as independent and equal. Consequently any relation will be so interpreted as to magnify the elements of dependence and inequality implicit in it. Moreover, to have power over somebody is an ultimate value for the Batutsi. They will thus prefer to keep a debtor under the vague obligation to do something, some day, rather than receive immediate compensation.

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113

Chapter 6

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

101 174

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong

[113]

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 131 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the north, which, however, refers essentially to the Buganza district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

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1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

181 563 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic re-orientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 [578] The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds. In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi [163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu, even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He [148] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different 563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and 191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable, [144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

● [113]

2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu,
Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily
[194] make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly
alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect.
In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the
Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition
to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area.
The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi
to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population
of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with
the Batutsi.

563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
144 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively
small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi
is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa
with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding
expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is
not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

● [113]

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.
Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563 144 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship." Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

[113]

5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropological relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

563 266

[113]

6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch

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266
● [113]

Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are

[113]

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Eléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

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621
[113]

Dr. Kandt (2) mentions, however, that there are also Batwa

2. Kandt, R., "Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika [Report on my Journeys and Entire Work in German East Africa]," Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900 [Reports on the German Protectorates 1900], p. 246.

living in the forests of Sabinio.

In Ndorwa the following influential Batwa chiefs were mentioned.

5 and 6. Ngurube and Katulenge. Ngurube's Batwa are called Puniu. (3)

3. Parisch, F.R. Von "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 to 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

7. The Batwa on Idjwi Island were visited by Dr. J. Mildbraed and Dr. H. Schubotz and are supposed to be more similar to the Pygmies than the rest of the Batwa.

8. Batwa of southern Ruanda. There are large colonies of Batwa in the Rugege Forest and in the forests in the southwestern part of the province of Nduga. This [134] group is called Mashami or Machaba. Their forest belongs to the Njaruguru country which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizuka (1).

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

9. Batwa from Kabgaye. Apart from these larger groups, I met a colony of 20 to 25 who lived in the vicinity of the Kabgaye Mission (Marangara) and were potters.

10. Finally there are Batwa in Nyanza who live there in order to serve the king. From time to time they are relieved by fellow tribesmen.

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 372 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 197 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

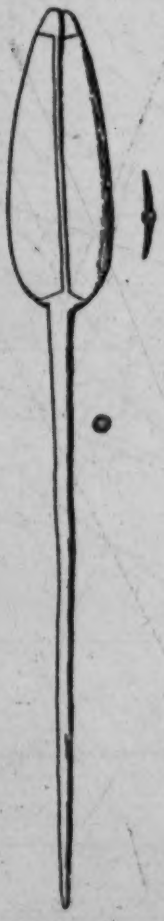
231 554 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

501 In rowing, the oarsmen sit on the edges of the boat. Only the large Kivu canoes had seats which were fastened on either side with ropes passing through holes in the rim of the boat. The holes are made

[227]



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[113]

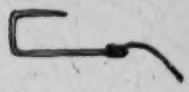

Fig. 40. Fishhook from Mukinjaga. (Actual size. III E 6896. 17 centimeters long.)

with a percussion drill (umutwero).

Industry. In Ruanda, as Dr. R. Kandt's (1) studies have already pointed out, industry has the character of handicraft or hired work. There are few branches of industry on the level of home industry where at times surplus goods not used in the household are sold. This is true, for example, of basketry which generally is produced by the women.

1. Cf. the monograph "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 329-372.

Beer which is brewed in every household seldom figures in business transactions and then only between friends, in exchange for the care of cows and for rented fields.

Fig. 41. Oar from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13731. 181 centimeters long.)

Potters and woodworkers are craftsmen who produce for the market, whereas metalworkers are wage earners who work on order. Wiredrawers [149], as well as the producers of barkcloth, reputedly work at the home of their employers.

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

● [113]

2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438 484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

304 body with the point of the knife. Later, when the design stands out due to the skin injury, short, deeper incisions are made with the razor. The incisions, or rather the punctures, are made while the skin is pinched and lifted with two fingers. The skillful artist does not draw blood, and the punctures close with the appearance of lymph. After a few days the scabs are scraped off and rubbed with butter and cow dung (kisheshe). No pigment is used. After the wounds have healed, the thickened skin at each incision forms a raised design.

If the tatooing is done clumsily, keloids form where the incisions have been made. This condition is quite common in Mulera where tatooing is done chiefly by Batwa. Keloids are a sign of the Lake Edward region, for among the Bakondjo living there very large keloid formations are intentionally produced, particularly on the back. In Nduga, the country of tatoo artists, and among the Batutsi, the designs are very delicate. The price of the operation is a goat. A person gradually builds up a collection of designs during a lifetime.

Fig. 89. Tattooing Patterns from Ruanda.

Tatooing, in Kissaka at any rate, seems to have no religious meaning and is performed without any kind of ceremony.

Circumcision is not practiced in Ruanda, but it is not unknown. This is proved by the proverb: "In the compound through which many people pass, circumcised children are born."

302 At initiation ceremonies and, according to Father Schumacher (2), at [184] weddings, people are painted with kaolin

●[113]

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 878.

(runoni). However, the practice does not seem to be limited to these occasions, for twice I saw painted children. One child was completely covered with a mixture of clay and ocher. The other had only an oblique line drawn across its forehead over the eyes. There was no question of initiation in this case, for the children were only five and seven years old.

411 The Batwa carry a reinforced bamboo bow. It consists of a split bamboo staff, the hollow of which is reinforced with a stick of wood. The bow is more than one and a half meters tall and more than half of it is reinforced. The finished bow is bound with grass along its entire length, so the reinforcement does not show. The accompanying illustration of a child's bow which I saw in Mulera clearly shows the manner of this reinforcement. This bow, however, is not made of bamboo, and therefore the reinforcement is not fitted into the natural groove, but it is in the proper position, namely, on the outside, away from the archer as he pulls the bowstring.

In Ruanda the string of the Batwa bow is made of a strip of bamboo braided at either end before it is strung. (1) The rattan

[13]

1. Luschan, F. Von, "Bogen und Pfeile der Watwa vom Kiwu-See [Bows and Arrows of the Watwa of Lake Kivu]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Verhandlungen, 1899, pp. 634-640.

string is wound with grass for protection against wear.

Lieutenant Bischoff discovered that the Urundi Batwa used a forehead bow [Stirnbogen]. These forms are not familiar to me in Ruanda, but they are said to occur in Butembo.

Arrows, like bows, can be divided into two groups. The first group includes the arrows for Ruanda bows. They have a [190] notch into which the twisted bowstring fits. The second group includes arrows that correspond to the Batwa bows, and these are characterized by smooth, often bulbous ends, similar to the head of a drumstick.

The arrows of the first group have inserted iron points and three radial segments of clipped feathers. The split feathers are laid along the shaft and bound securely to it. The two ends of the shaft are also bound to protect against splitting. At the nock end the binding is narrow, while at the point it is about five centimeters wide. The arrows are made of wood. The points of the arrows usually have the form of sharply tapered, long pyramids

841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

58[illegible] In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in

[113]

1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher. (2)

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

631 The modern European who is accustomed to sharply demar-
642 cated administrative districts and has no idea of social equilibrium based on the interweaving of economic interests finds this principle of administration absurd. That is how Captain Göring (1)

[13]

1. Captain Göring, "Zu den Unruhen in Urundi [On the Unrest in Urundi]," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1911, p. 552.

judged conditions in Urundi. He says: "The division of the country is entirely without system. One often finds watuale who own various lands widely separated from each other."

I was told that Lwabugiri's policy is being followed by Musinga. He is said to prefer appointing chiefs who are directly responsible to him and to give them lands. These unimportant, free persons, mindful of the king's protection, form an element [268] independent of and even hostile to the high chiefs. They guard their own interests and resist the particularistic tendencies of the powerful.

This policy tends to erase the boundaries of individual provinces, and one encounters great difficulties if he asks about the political division of the country.

After this brief discussion of the central organization of the state which is made up of the king and a dozen and a half powerful feudal lords, we shall now touch on the political conditions in the individual sections.

The organization of Kissaka has the following pattern. The largest part of the country is divided among three large feudal lords, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. Their lands are interspersed in such a way that no separate provinces can be formed. This increases their opposition to each other. Hence the dignitaries check on one another and fight one another with accusations and intrigues. In this way mutual control, which is very useful to the state, is established, as well as a quite stable equilibrium.

These three high chiefs of Kissaka live almost constantly at the court of Musinga in Nyanza, and when they obtain permission to visit their holdings, their sons remain behind as valuable hostages, a guarantee against possible separatistic

651 Parisch. (1) He mentions: [272]
635

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 74, 78.

Province or Region	Chief (mutware)	
	Ku butaka	Ku muheto
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu . . . . . (between Bwischascha and Nduga)	Bushakwe	Kabare
Munjaga . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Lujondo	Kanuma
Kawagali . . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Bushakwe	Bushakwe

Von Parisch also mentions the mutware ku muheto Balahanda who led the attack on Count Von Götzen.

651 The butaka, it seems, is always collected by the chief to whom the land is granted. The muheto tax, on the other hand, goes to the chief who is entrusted with the king's cattle in the district. He has the right to pasture cows on the harvested fields of the farmers, which is a very considerable burden to the population. Thus, for example, the grass on many hills in Bugoye belongs to Rudegambia, although Bushakwe is the high chief of the region. On my way to Kisenyi I saw many uncultivated fields that had to lie fallow because the Batutsi removed their cattle too late for planting.

Dr. Kandt (1) also speaks of two chiefs in the provinces. He

[113]

1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer

[65] [113]

des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 213.

calls one the chief of the people and the other the chief of the cattle.

The ilali tax seems to be collected by special officials who at the same time are entrusted with the supervision of the Europeans who travel about the country. In some cases this office is carried out by batware ku muheto or batware ku butaka.

The amount accruing to the chiefs when they collect the taxes is called musogongero and is fixed for the butaka and muheto. For the ilali this does not seem to be the case. The amount varies from one situation to another, in proportion to the size of the caravan of Europeans that has to be provided for.

In order to describe the taxes somewhat more in detail, we herewith give the tax burden carried by the three communities on Katebe and Kitebe which we have discussed before.

[273] Taxes for the Communities on Katebe and Kitebe -

	Baishaza	Balyolyo	Bagwabiro
Population (including bagaragu)	104	61	41
Male clan members among these	47 + 2[1)]	21	21
Butaka for Musinga	9 Kaniki = 27 hoes	10 hoes	6 hoes
Musogongero for Chief Bizira Kusama	6 hoes	?	?
Muheto	3000 butega	1000 butega	1000 butega
Musogongero	3 hoes to Makobi	Goat for 5 hoes to Murahangubo	
Ilali (through Gamuli)	1 package of beans	Small pot of beer, basket of sweet potatoes, basket of beans	1 load of beans
Buletwa	none	none	none

1) Two sons-in-law.

except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

[113]

1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

175 Mutara Lwogera was also a successful warrior. He conquered
643 Bugoye and in 1876 added Kissaka to Ruanda by force of arms.
Lwabugiri Kigeri who was visited by Count Von Götzen, the first European to do so, was also a very belligerent ruler. He increased Ruanda's possessions in the Rutshuru Basin as far as Lake Edward.

175 In order to characterize the personality of Lwabugiri some-
643 what more exactly, we must mention that one of his chief delights
661 was stealing cows. If the owner of the cattle resisted, he was punished with confiscation for having the boldness to act against the muami [ruler]. If he did not resist, his cows, which he had learned to conceal, were simply taken away from him. These cow thefts with which Lwabugiri consciously promoted the splitting up of feudal possessions, as well as the constant wars, made him very troublesome to the Batutsi.

175 Without doubt the rule of Lwabugiri was a period of great
643 expansion and glory for Ruanda. The state enjoyed such a high reputation that neither the Arabs nor Stanley and Emin Pasha ventured to enter it. Lwabugiri undertook numerous campaigns, among them an unsuccessful one to Nkole (1891?). He wanted to get King Ntare's cows in order to supplement his own herds which had been very much decimated by disease. He waged war three times with Urundi, twice with Idjwi Island, three times against Bunyabungu, and twice with Kissaka. Moreover, he laid waste the country of Mulera three times in order to punish rebellious subjects, and he pillaged the Gana Mukari (1) three times in his

● [113]

1. Brard, A., "Skizzen aus Ruanda [Ruanda Sketches]," Afrikabote, 1900-1901, p. 99.

ancestral province because of the revolt which was supposed to have taken place there. He was unsuccessful in his expeditions against Urundi. The two kings, Lwabugiri and Mwezi Kisabo (?), made peace with each other and built their settlements on the border between the two states, on the Akanjaru. The wars with the inhabitants of Idjwi Island were also only temporarily successful.

175 643 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga, the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died. These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to

● [113]

> 2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only

> 1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

> Ibid., p. 264.

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 643 649 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

●[113]

3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113]

1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite the Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

[113]

3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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Mulera	Ussuwí	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, begin hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

266 782 65 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago. The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a mûia (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

● [113] 2. Roscoe, J., The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs (London, 1911), p. 331.

beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

266 575 794 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in the north and by poisoners (balozi). Koch (1) confirms its occurence

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, p. 465.

among the balogu of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

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guards near corpses. They believe that if a person eats corpses he is imbued with weird, magical power and can turn into wild animals, as in our legend of the werewolf."

According to Johnston (2), the secret society of basezi in

[13]

2. Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate (London, 1902), p. 692.

Buddu and on the Sese Islands assembles at night and devours corpses. Johnston (3) characterizes the inhabitants of the Sese

3. Ibid., p. 693.

Islands as notorious cannibals who gave up this passion only when they were forced to by the Baganda.

Ruanda's western neighbors, the Bahunde, are likewise cannibals, as Dr. Kandt (4) has determined. He reports the

4. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 449.

following discovery: "Here lay the head of a human being that had been slaughtered not more than two days ago. The ears, the lips, and the flesh of cheeks, neck, and chin had been cut away, and the large hollow bones had been broken, apparently to suck out the marrow and the blood. The place where the fire had been, marked by ashes, was still visible; the blood-soaked apron of barkcloth and the straw and wire rings of the slaughtered person lay strewn about in the grass. I called the guides. They knew the man and said that if we wanted to look around we could find many other remnants of this kind, but I had no desire to do so."

From these facts we may conclude that formerly cannibalism was common in the entire interlacustrine region from the western lakes to the Sese Islands. Only recently suppressed, it has left definite traces in the cult and in secret societies.

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●[113]

1. Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg, Ins innerste Afrika [Into the Interior of Africa] (Leipzig, 1909), p. 118.

boys of Kanuma performed another dance of the same type (2).

Ibid., p. 119.

The dances are divided into two distinct groups, the kwamiriza and the kuhyereka. In the first group the dancers hold a spear or an arrow in their hands and swing them rhythmically. The martial bearing of the dancers indicates that this is a war [534] dance. In these dances the dancers wear iron bells on their ankles and move in a closed circle or in a line from left to right. This type seems to be representative of all true Batutsi dances.

The second group is the kuhyereka. This is danced by one or two dancers, very rarely by three. In this dance the dancer rocks back and forth with his arms outstretched and often bent backward. This position is called kutega amaboko. For the kuhyereka the bells, if they are used, are fastened under the knee. It is very characteristic that in these dances, which were probably originally Bahutu, the bells are worn in the place where the Bakondjo, who are not influenced by the Batutsi, wear their leg rings.

[334] The dances which I had an opportunity to observe in Mulera belonged altogether to the kuhyereka group. The dance was performed by two soloists, and the passive participants accompanied their movements with singing and hand clapping to maintain the rhythm. The dance was sometimes also accompanied by the playing of the inanga. That only the kuhyereka type of dance appears in Mulera shows very definitely that it belongs to the lower Bantu stratum.

524 Play. Rattles are the common toys for children. Bigger boys like to play with small bows. A discus game is played with bow and arrow. There are two teams, with seven boys on each side. One team throws soft discusses cut out of a banana stalk;

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

128 To investigate systematically the social significance of kinship terminology, some procedure should be adopted whereby every term is analysed from a set of relevant viewpoints. In order to do this we are setting them in the following table. The table recapitulates the sixty-one kinship terms mentioned in the preceding sections and for each of them gives eleven characteristics. In this [113] choice I have followed closely the chapter 'Analysis of Kinship' in Murdock's *Social Structure*.[17]

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		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
[18]Sogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
[18]Sogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	a	dr	–	+	+	+	–	+	o	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Sogo-kuru-za	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Nyogo-kuru-za	r	dr	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Isogo-kuru	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	o	–	–	d
Data	a	e	+	+	–	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Data	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Mama	a	e	+	+	+	+	o	+	–	–	o	c
Mama	r	e	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	–	o	d
Data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mama-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-rume	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Maku-data-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-gabo-wa-ma-senge	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wa-mama-wacu	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Data-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Ma-bukwe	r	dr	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-vandimwe	a	dr	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mw-ene-data	r	ds	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-rumuna-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-saza-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-kuru-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	d
Mu-shiki-wanjye	r	ds	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mw-ene-datu-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-shiki-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
Mu-byara-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-byara-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-gore-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gore-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-rume-kazi-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-gabo-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	o	+	–	+	o	d
Mu-gabo-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	c
Mu-rume-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	d
Mu-sore-wacu	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	d
M-wene-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-mwene-wanjye	r	dr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	c
Mu-rume-wacu	r	dr	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	c
Mu-samire-wanjye	r	dr	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	d

[17] Murdock, 1949, pp. 91-112. Quotations in the following paragraphs come from p. 98.

[18] *a* means address; *r* reference.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[P.186]

APPENDIX 3

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10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

[8]For the most part, what is here said of Burundi was true also of the people of the neighbouring kingdom of Ruanda. Significant differences will be footnoted. For the hierarchical principle in Ruanda, see: J. J. Maquet, *Le Système des Relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien*, Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Ethnologie, vol. I, 1954.

[9]Burundi is changing its laws. Thus, women and other social inferiors increasingly enjoy legal privileges and rights.

[4]In Ruanda, the queen-mother shared the royal power with her son, the *mwami*. This was not the case in Burundi.

[5]Very little will be said about religion in Burundi. The cult of Kiranga, the ancestor cult, and every other aspect of traditional religion and belief have been legally suppressed. About one-third of the population have been converted to Christianity. Religion, traditional and contemporary, is always important in the life of a society, but it may be concluded from the behaviour, the interests and the values of the Rundi that their society is secular rather than sacred.

[6]The word "caste" is not entirely satisfactory for describing the social distinctions of Burundi. However, there does not seem to be any better translation for the term, *aboko*, which connotes racial differences and to which are attached taboos and marriage regulations which separate rather rigidly these divisions of Rundi society.

[7]Although the terms "Hamitic" and "Bantu" are, properly speaking, linguistic terms, they will be used here, for lack of anything better, in their common acceptation as referring to social-cultural groups.

[8]In Ruanda, the Twa are more respected than the Hutu. Moreover, caste distinctions in Ruanda are social rather than racial. *Cf.* J. J. Maquet, *op. cit.*

[9]When the *mwami* of Ruanda gave a Tutsi wife to a man of an inferior caste, he raised the man to the higher caste.

[10]*Cf.* Jean Hiernaux, *Analyse de la Variation des Caractères physiques humains en une Région de l'Afrique centrale: Ruanda-Urundi et Kivu.* Annales du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren (Belgique), Sciences de l'Homme, Anthropologie, vol. 3, 1956.

[11]Since 1952, polygamy is no longer permitted. Nevertheless, there are still a good many plural marriages. In the past, a prince might easily have had 20 wives. The average Rundi, however, would not have been wealthy enough to pay for more than two or three.

[12]These taboos are not known in Ruanda.

[13]The Hutu husband is obliged to build and to make repairs on the house, to take care of the banana grove that encircles the homestead, and to brew banana beer.

[14]In the past, there was only one harvest each year. There are now two, but the second one is relatively light.

[15]Almost nothing is known about the Twa, except that the men go to the marshes for the clay needed by the women to make pots and then sell them. The work in the fields is done by the women, but it appears that the men are often home and help.

[16]It has been suggested that anæmia explains the physiological condition interpreted by the Rundi as a prolonged pregnancy.

[17]Blinded by the ideas of my own culture about men's interest in their children's paternity, I wasted a great deal of time in the field seeking confirmation from Hutu and Tutsi, the Europeanized and the traditional. I was finally convinced of the lack of interest in biological paternity. This is, in any case, in keeping with the rather liberal rules pertaining to sexual relations in the kinship system.